

Made in America
35

TWO
LETTERS

FROM

AGRICOLA

TO

Sir WILLIAM HOWE;

To which are annexed,

BY THE SAME AUTHOR,

POLITICAL OBSERVATIONS.

*La Guerre est un métier, qui fait mourir les braves Gens,
et vivre la Canaille.*

MAXIMES FRANÇOISES.



L O N D O N :

Printed for J. MILLIDGE, at his Printing-Office,
Maiden-Lane, Covent-Garden, 1779.

[PRICE ONE SHILLING AND SIX-PENCE.]

Advertisement of the Editor.

THE Editor of these two Letters from Agricola to Sir William Howe here offers them to the Public, with the permission of the Author. With regard to composition, they are certainly superiour to most fugitive publications. Their matter is authentic; and of great importance (especially at this juncture) to England. The Editor was favoured, by the same Author, with the Political Observations which follow the Letters. And he flatters himself, that the Reader will likewise find those Observations entertaining, and usefully connected with the times.

E R R A T A.

- At the bottom of Page 7th, dele *in*.
Page 10, instead of *going up the Delaware*, read, *by going up the Delaware*.
Page 12, instead of *ill-timed conduct*, read, *ill-timed caution*.
Page 41, in the note, instead of, *ingens libris spatium*, read, *ingens littoris spatium*.
Page 43, in the note, instead of, *en ne peut pas parer*, read, *on ne peut pas parer*.
Page 54, instead of, *confidence of the intrepidity*, read *confidence in the intrepidity*.

L E T T E R I.

To Sir WILLIAM HOWE.

S I R,

A T a time when one may be an eminent writer without learning, or genius ; a General without experience, without any proofs of courage, or military talents ; and a Patriot without the elements of political knowledge, and without integrity ; I have really little ambition to attract the notice of the metropolis. At such a time too, I should be surprised to feel public spirit strong within me. I am likewise, unfortunately for myself, a very indolent man. All these impediments, however, to some exertion of my mind, are at present driven away by an honest indignation. In endeavouring to make the public acquainted with the true character and conduct of a man, who with accumulated and palpable guilt, presumes to claim the greatest merit ; —who has tried to menace those who have shewn him every instance of unmerited indulgence and generosity, into an approbation of his errors and his crimes ; who, rich with

B

the

the spoils of his country for having been its more baneful enemy than France and America united, would have the confidence to triumph here as publicly and ostentatiously as he did on the other side of the Atlantic ;—who, with the profligacy of a Clodius, assumes the virtue of a Cato ;—when against such a criminal, who will undoubtedly be absolved by the superficial and formal process of a committee, I implore literary Justice to lift her golden scale, and pass her merited and durable sentence ;—I frankly own that I gratify my self-love ; and I may venture to assert, that such gratification of self-love, is at least, not illiberal.

The force of the arms of your illustrious colleague, Mr. Burgoyne, hath been in exact proportion to the energy of his pen. Yet the bold aspect, and peremptory tone, with which you and he obtrude your services, and unrivaled merits on administration, and on England, reminded me of a passage in the Provoked Wife. “ The Fellow (says Sir John Brute of Constant) comes to my house ; eats my meat, drinks my drink ; lies with my wife ; gets a bastard to inherit my estate ; and when I ask a civil account of all these things, Sir, says he, “ I wear a sword.”——Great objects may often be compared with small ; domestic matters may be applied to affairs of empire.

The

—The vitals of our state have suffered by General Burgoyne and *you*; but principally, Sir, by *your* misconduct. By your dilatory, preposterous, and I may add, without scurrility, infamous campaigns, you have exhausted our finances, and wasted one of the finest armies in the world. By your inglorious warfare, we have lost thirteen colonies, and have been repeatedly and openly insulted by France. A Fabricius and a Scipio were happy in being rewarded with a wreath of laurel, for humbling the foes of their country, and diffusing the lustre of the Roman name. You, Sir, amassed a princely fortune, after having, by your inactivity and licentiousness, lost a great part of a great empire, which you might have secured by your valor and your virtue. After having made Britain contemptible to Europe, with an absurdity of wickedness peculiar to yourself, you seemed to rejoice at those calamities of which *you* were the author; you celebrated the obsequies of our military glory with the most ill-grounded and impudent triumph that ever disgraced the annals of war: you improved the splendor of your unparalleled *Mischianza* with the vigils of the gambler; with the orgies of Naxos and Cythera.—To complete my allusion to Constant in the comedy, you, with your triumphal entry into Philadelphia, and the rhetorical

rical General, whose praise, as it is not in
 gospel, is, I believe, in no epistles but his
 own, return in safety to England; where
 you amply atone (to *yourselves*) by your in-
 trepidity, and ardour in the senate, for your
 ill-timed circumspection and coolness in the
 field.—The one, after having, by ignoble
 delay, suffered the cause of the Rebels to
 strengthen, and their army to multiply;---
 after having, in a situation, which, espe-
 cially if we consider the nature of the Ame-
 rican war, demanded a hazardous attempt,
 a coup de main (for such attempts are in
 many cases to be expected from the most
 prudent Generals)---he, after having sub-
 mitted to the most infamous convention at
 Saratoga, and *piled up his arms*, complains
 of the perfidy and obstinacy of the ministers,
 and even of the severity of his Sovereign;
 as if by his exploits in America, he had
 eclipsed the spirit and achievements of a
 Wolfe. Both, after a series of misconduct
 that has been ruinous to this country, with
 a well-acted virulence, adopted from the
 exigence of their situation, accuse and vil-
 lify an administration which hath conferred
 on *them* the greatest emoluments, and ho-
 nours:---Each, in his respective species of
 eloquence, is profuse in his own eulogy:---
 Each prostitutes the gravest and most re-
 spectable phrases, with a wanton and sacri-
 legious

legious application — *Conscious of their integrity, they wish for the severest scrutiny into their conduct.---Ministry could only object to that scrutiny because they had every thing to fear from it:---their zeal for their Sovereign and country they defy their most implacable enemies to disprove:---they cannot rest while their conduct and honour are suspected:---when such orators make public and ardent professions of virtue, and the love of their country, we have new proofs, in the melancholy history of mankind, how little weight is to be given to our most confident assertions in our own favour.*

You have found opposition extremely propitious to your interest at this critical juncture: and by espousing your cause, they evince to every dispassionate and sensible mind, that their intentions and pretences are totally incompatible;---that they are not really strenuous to promote the strength, and honour, and happiness of the state; but that they are influenced, and determined by the narrow spirit and views of party: for those who are zealous and industrious to protect *you*, are not friends to merit and the community.

From these observations on human nature which are perviewous to every eye, we may infer that you would not have been so hardy in your late attacks on administration, if
in

you had not been stimulated to the charge by your anti-ministerial auxiliaries. The annals of all countries inform us, that the weakest and most despicable minds are surprizingly heated, and emboldened by the encouragement and applause of faction. The cur is vociferous at the door of his cottage, and the pusillanimous cock on his dunghill.

What I have hitherto advanced against you, Sir, is I hope neither in matter, nor in manner, a letter *à la Burgoyne*; it consists not of elaborate, bombastic, and futile declamation: it is founded on the most respectable authorities on this, and the other side of the globe.

As I mean not to make this letter a perplexed and uninteresting chart, or a narrative of meagre and superfluous detail, I shall not enumerate the many glaring instances of your misconduct:—I shall not fatigue my reader with tracing your stationary blunders, nor your retrograde and eccentric motions.--- They have been repeatedly and minutely exhibited to the public. Some very material facts, however, I shall here beg leave to state with that brevity which is requisite, after they have been fully and accurately represented, and never refuted. By *their* induction, I flatter myself that this letter will be compact, and impregnable by the feeble and partial

partial testimonies in your favour; and by those hireling scribblers, who, I observe, have, of late, been industrious to remind us of your *true* character, by ascribing to you every amiable and splendid quality.

At the well-known attack of Long-Island, a great and almost decisive victory was evidently in your power: This attack was made by your troops, with a most determined spirit, and with irresistible vigour. They were even within the trenches of the enemy. You basely founded a retreat, when you should have pressed forward with fresh ardour. You yourself had the modesty to own, that the camp of the rebels might have been stormed with success; and you insulted us with your *regular approaches*.—After this memorable enterprize, if, instead of lounging sixteen days in your camp at Long-Island, you had attacked New-York, you might have taken prisoners, or destroyed, Washington's army. Your forces were then far more numerous than those which the rebel-general immediately commanded. The rebels did not mean obstinately to maintain Long-Island, New-York, nor the forts Washington and Lee.—They were now acquainted with the extent of your military talents; they foresaw that you would waste your time on those petty acquisitions; and that they would divert
you

you from greater atchievements. Such, indeed, in all the liberal professions, is the conduct of men whose minds are fraught with vanity, but destitute of true ambition.

Whether you are remote from the enemy, or before them in the field, you are shamefully indolent and languid. From your taking possession of New-York, to your approach to the White-Plains, a space of six weeks intervenes, during which time it is impossible for you to vindicate your inaction, whatever allowance we may make for your necessary preparations.

If you had properly supported and pursued the spirited attack on the rebels, at the White-Plains, it appears from your own account of that action in the Gazette, that you would have gained a complete victory. But by far the greater part of your army *did not* move: You kept them loitering in their camp four days, with a scandalous insensibility to great advantages, which deadened all your manœuvres.

At the time, when going up the Delaware, you might have made yourself master of Philadelphia, of Pensilvania, and driven Washington's army from the Jerseys; with one of your capital and unaccountable absurdities you failed for Chesapeak.—During this heroic expedition, the ministry, for two months and six days, knew not how you
were

were proceeding, nor what was become of the army and fleet of the nation. Yet this man, who by his variety of bad conduct, might have reasonably discouraged and disgusted those by whom he was employed, complains, that about the time to which I now refer, he was not treated with sufficient attention and respect by the ministry. Let me for a moment relieve the reader by an anecdote, from the blunders of General Howe. While he was on his wild-goose chase to Chesapeak, the King, one day, in full court, asked Lord George Germaine, what was become of Sir William Howe? The minister acknowledged his ignorance. He next applied to General Hervey for information, who could give his Majesty no more satisfaction than Lord George Germaine. The King then put the question to the flexible and courtly Lord Barrington, who replied, "He" was sure that the General was just where "he should be." Lord Barrington has made many as groundless assertions.

I shall particularly mention but one more of your exploits; you planned an attack on General Washington at White-Marsh; you marched forth with great parade; but, on finding him preparing to attack *you*, you retreated with precipitation to Philadelphia.

Such is the genius and the substance of your military operations. My little history,

C

I think

I think, is faithful; you must permit me to enforce it with a comment.

It is impossible to carry on *any* war without alacrity and action. The most prudent Generals, after having formed the best plans, have often found it necessary to trust much to fortune. And though circumspection, experience, and art, contribute to form the great commander, yet history proves that rapidity and intrepid courage produce the most decisive consequences. If ever expedition and bold enterprize were the duties of a General, *you* ought to have adopted them in America. Therefore no person could be worse qualified than you have shewn yourself for the momentous trust to which you were appointed. You should always have been expeditious, and adventurous; and you were always dilatory and cautious: And such ill-timed conduct, whatever courage you may possess, had all the bad effects of timidity. When an army is in the enemy's country, it is often the part of the latter to be cautious, and to procrastinate; but the former should always come as soon as possible to action; and when they have gained one victory, they should immediately prepare for another: For they are to cope with those that have many resources, of which *they* are deprived by their situation;—an acquaintance with the country; --- abundance of provisions, with

with which they are easily supplied ;---a free and extensive communication. Conquest by degrees, procures all these advantages to the invaders ; and it spreads a panic among the enemy ; an auxiliary of most powerful operation.

It is rather painful to recur to these palpable observations ; but I thought it necessary to repeat them, from the fever of the times, which makes us lose sight of obvious and useful truths ; and from our present despicable modes of scrutinizing military conduct. To hear our modern officers prate, and to review their campaigns, one might suppose, that the very axioms and elements of the art of war were now diametrically opposite to those which guided and animated the progress of a Stair, a Churchill, and a Peterborough ;---that a General was only to proceed as he was warranted of success by mathematical certainty ; and that he and his army were always to be secured from chance and danger. But truth is of a subtle and penetrating nature ; it often springs up before its enemies, when they had vainly presumed that they had destroyed its elasticity. It can only be suppressed *for awhile* by court martials and committees ; it will emerge at length, and appear, in all its lustre, on the current of time.

You may, with your immense wealth, suborn as many knights of the post as you chuse to muster, to prove all your conduct unexceptionable and great. In the young men of the army, whose vices you indulged and encouraged by your neglect of discipline, and by your own example, you may find the warm, but weak and contemptible advocates of the day. By the hesitating and confused answers of two or three more respectable characters, you may be half condemned and half acquitted. Their abilities are poor; their knowledge of the American continent is circumscribed and superficial; therefore *their* testimony can have no permanent weight. For human actions there is reserved a venerable evidence and a venerable censor; history and posterity;---a witness and a judge whom, while *you* anticipate, Sir William, your mind, if you have any delicate feelings, must be agitated with remorse and horror. In the impartial and sacred historical page it will appear to demonstration, that during your three campaigns, while you commanded a well-disciplined army against new-levied troops, you brought distress and ignominy on your country;---that the whole tenor of your conduct was the reverse of what it should have been;---that you were indolent and slow, when you should have been active and rapid; dissipated and licentious, when
you

you should have been sedate and collected;— and that you celebrated an ostentatious and gay triumph at a time when, under the load of infamy which you had incurred, a christian of the strictest piety and resignation would have almost pardoned you for committing suicide.

The minds of our men are as frivolous and effeminate as their dress and manners. Their conduct is not determined by reason, but by caprice and imitation. If we reflected on manly behaviour, and on what we owed the public, would we bring our impertinences before a court of equity? or would they pass without severe animadversion? When the fullest information is required, to evince the merit or demerit of an Admiral or General, a veteran in arms, and one of high rank, presumes to withhold his opinion on objects of his profession; on services of which he hath received complete intelligence; or which were performed under his eye. A physician and a surgeon have an equal right, as good citizens, to refuse giving their opinion in a court of justice, when they are called to declare whether or no they think that a deceased person, whose death-bed they attended, died by poison. The cases are exactly parallel. This reserve which hath lately been practised by some of our officers, betrays a stupid obstinacy, or a
most

most unmanly fear. It was quite consistent with the style of the quibbling and sophistical Mulgrave. But from Sir Guy Carleton we had reason to expect more ingenuous evidence ; I thought he had been a generous, open, blunt soldier.

Another proof that we give little or no play to the reasoning faculty, is, the precipitate belief of many people, that Sir William Howe and Mr. Burgoyne were to move, literally and mechanically, according to a plan given them by the ministry. So many and unforeseen may be the accidents of a campaign, that there are few cases in which we can suppose, without the greatest absurdity, that the ministers of *any* state will circumscribe their Generals by peremptory directions. I am sure that the General who submits to absolute restrictions, deserves not his honourable sphere ; and I am sure that our ministry (let them be ever so arbitrary and weak) did not give minute and positive instructions to the Generals Howe and Burgoyne ; or that those instructions were not obeyed. For however they may be accused of blunders, we are certain that they must have been anxious to subdue the rebels. Therefore you, Sir William, cannot have acted agreeably to their orders ; for through all your American campaigns you seemed careful not to annoy the enemy. It is impossible

ble that the weakest ministry upon earth could have directed *your* movements; which (in the humorous words of the American crisis) “ resemble the labours of a puppy pursuing his tail; the end is still at the same distance, and all the turnings round must be done over again.”

Nor can I think that your friend Mr. Burgoyne can with much decency complain of peremptory instructions; though he has of late been very prolix and tedious on that article. I will not easily believe that he was ordered by the ministry to waste ten weeks on his march from Skenesborough to Saratoga; a space of forty miles. And when at Saratoga he reached the rebel army, which he suffered greatly to increase by a shameful delay, I really think it would have been but congenial with his ardent military spirit, which often powerfully evaporates on paper, (especially as he thought his army *devoted*) gallantly to have fought his way through the enemy. This is not a Quixotic theory: A little army of five thousand men, well-armed, and well-disciplined, have often routed thrice the number of ill-appointed and young soldiers. Mr. Burgoyne, however, will excuse me, if I have here indulged myself in rhodomontade.----’Tis in his own way.

The

The letters, gentlemen, of each of you, are descriptive of their author. Your's, Sir William, as you have not Mr. Burgoyne's wild imagination, are always dry, and sometimes obscure. They characterize your vanity; but a reader of any penetration sees through their military parade, the magnitude of your exploits. For want of elaborate and pompous eloquence to varnish a poor tale, you are lavish of technical terms. You give us long and accurate lists of trivial spoils, which contribute no more to the weal of England than an account of a little powder and ball transmitted from one of our gun-wharfs to the Office of Ordnance.

The letters of General Burgoyne are totally different in matter, and in style. He is a deep and eloquent military theorist; he plans the subjugation of the rebels; and in his loyal delirium he brandishes the tomahawk and the scalping-knife, which alternately glitter in his magnificent periods. But all these heroic visions are annihilated by the convention at Saratoga. As a writer, he may be compared with the picture of the nativity, which was lately to be seen in the exhibition. Its dimensions and figures are extravagantly large; its colours are glaring; but while it was executed by the artist, he had not one idea that corresponded with the scene which he intended to represent: The
 afs

als is the leading and prominent object in the group, and continually solicits our attention.

Ingratum si dixeris, omnia dixeris. Your character, Sir William, is complete; it is crowned with ingratitude. Your desertion of Lord George Germaine, and your unprovoked insolence to that minister, shew that we can have as little reliance on the heart of the man, as on the head of the General. I have always thought his Lordship a great and injured character. The firmness and decorum which he now opposes to the most formidable attacks, and to the most virulent aspersions, deserve the highest approbation and esteem of every impartial and liberal mind. This part of his conduct I should recommend as a most useful and important example to many of our senators: but I fear they are as incapable to imitate his manners, as to emulate his abilities. He has a most acute and comprehensive understanding: He is well acquainted with human nature; but he is not infallible. Had it not been for *him*, the people of England, fortunately for their interest, would hardly have known that *you* existed. He raised you almost to the highest power that could be delegated to a subject; and he treated you, while you commanded in America, with the greatest respect and generosity: But what consistency, what

D

honour

honour is to be expected from those, whose thoughts are wholly employed on themselves; and whose wealth, be it ever so great, is inadequate to their numerous and insatiable desires. Such men, to gratify their prevalent and rapacious wants, or in *any* hour of trial, will break their strongest obligations; turn away from their best friends, to more auspicious objects, with a quick tergiversation, that astonishes, even in an age of open and avowed profligacy; and exhibit, in their apostacy, a Burgoyne, a Howe, a Fox, or a Lyttelton. If there is, in their souls, a latent spark of generous gratitude, it is extinguished, in a moment, by the rubbish of the sordid passions. • Therefore, to expect from Sir William Howe, for the greatest favours he can receive, a reciprocal, warm, and steady gratitude and friendship, is to expect that MR. WILKES will preach in the House of Commons, for the sectaries, from a sincere and habitual piety; and that MR. BURGOYNE will harangue and write like CICERO.

Temple, May 29.

AGRICOLA.

LETTER

L E T T E R II.

To Sir WILLIAM HOWE.

SIR,

Temple, June 15, 1779.

PERMIT me once more to break in upon your intrigues, amorous or political: I hope I shall never again feel the least inclination to address *you*.

I am so unfashionable a man, and so little impressed by some present objects, as not to see a news-paper every day: Nay, I am so antiquated a man, and so fond of some *remote* objects, that I am more apt to be convinced of important truths by a page of Xenophon or Tacitus, and to be highly entertained by the objects which those authors present to my mind, than by the letters of your advocates, or by your own orations. Nor was I at all anxious (a circumstance which may seem surprizing to *your* Grub-street retainers) to examine a public paper after my former letter had made its appearance. When a man writes what he knows to be true, in clear and proper language, with an honest and laudable intention to inform the public on their momentous concerns, he is indifferent to consequences. Therefore, believe me, it was by mere accident that I looked into the Public Advertiser of June the 9th, where I found a letter, with the signature

DEMOCRATES, which avenged you most unmercifully on poor *Agricola*. If, by signing himself DEMOCRATES, he means that he strengthens the popular party, he is as strong in presumption, as he is weak in abilities. Were I to inform him whom I am, I should be as silly as himself; but I will give him some negative satisfaction; I will tell him who I am *not*. He calls *Lucius*, who wrote against *you* long ago, my *Caledonian* predecessor; he says, that I may possibly be traced to the den of *Calypso*. Now I most sincerely assure him, that I am neither a Caledonian, nor a Cumberland. The same gentleman brings against me a moral, and a critical charge. He taxes me with confidence of assertion. Why we may not with confidence assert palpable, and well-known truths, I leave such ingenious casuists as himself to discover. He says my style is *inflated*. If this implicit praise had come from one who had shewn the least pretensions to literary merit, it would perhaps have made me vain: For I have always observed, that when a true genius is assailed by a venal, or envious critic, the latter dares not make a fair and regular attack, but gives his antagonist an indiscriminate blow. Thus if he means to depreciate a style of spirit, metaphor, and ornament, he roundly pronounces it flowery, turgid, and pedantic. I could wish, however,

ever, that this Democrat would write so as to be understood, before he criticises the language of another ; for he has given us a string of periods which are absolutely unintelligible. But why should I, Sir William, waste our time on a *little* being, when it should be devoted to prominent and conspicuous matter ? With all that self-partiality which predominates in human nature, I am imitating your misconduct which I have so freely censured. My attention is prostituted to a fort Washington, while it should be engrossed by the Jerseys and Pennsylvania.

Since I wrote my former letter, every material article in the progress of the Committee of Inquiry hath corroborated the facts which I had stated, and the judgment which I had formed of your character and military conduct. I need not now continue a history of your achievements. The demonstration is completed, and evidence glares on every man of common sense, who is free from prejudice, or who is honest enough to own the conviction that he feels. By several strong facts which were communicated to the House of Commons, on the 8th of this month, by Lord George Germaine ; facts which cannot be refuted, which indeed have been evinced by the testimony of General Robertson ; and from the information given by that General to the Committee, it appears
(among

(among other proofs) that you omitted every opportunity to terminate the war in America, that a very great majority in our colonies were attached to government, at a time when you might have taken effectual advantages of their loyal disposition. It likewise appears, that you could easily have spared three thousand men to make a diversion in the Massachusetts, and that you should have sent such a detachment into that quarter, as it would have prevented Gates from collecting the forces to which Burgoyne surrendered himself and his army. Gates's army, we find, by the shameful delays which I have already mentioned, augmented from two thousand five hundred to eighteen thousand men: A most exasperating event to the heart of every honest Englishman, if we consider the consequences with which, in all probability, it was attended: The humiliating convention at Saratoga;—the prolongation of a destructive war;—the alliance of France with our revolted colonies;—the contempt and ridicule of Europe.

I must here take notice of an imposition which you have been industrious to pass on the Committee, and on the public. You are always obtruding on us, and on the honest and sensible old General, the *Americans*, in your indefinite language; as if, after your landing on the western continent, you had been
opposed

opposed by all the thirteen colonies united. But Mr. Robertson, and all who hear his examination, keep close to the object of your duty, to the quashing of a rebellion in its infancy; which, it is clear from the evidence of the General, you might, with ease, have effected. One who knew not your activity, and surprizing resources before a Committee, would hardly believe that you could be bold enough to endeavour to confound these two very different ideas. It was the opinion of General Robertson, an old, experienced, and very intelligent officer; and it was the opinion of the most sensible Americans with whom he conversed, that the rebels might have been subdued with a far less regular force than that which was entrusted to your command. It was the opinion of the same General, and of his best-informed and most judicious friends, that if, instead of blundering away to Chesapeak, you had operated vigorously on the North River, you would have prevented the captivity of Burgoyne and his army. Sir, it is not only the opinion, but the certainty; the well-grounded and well-premeditated assertion of a native of America, who is now in London, and who should be examined before the Committee;---a gentleman high in office, in his country, and who has been long and universally esteemed for his knowledge

and abilities, for his dispassionate and mature judgment;---it is the assertion, Sir, of this gentleman, that if half of the forces which were sent out with you, had been commanded by a *real* General, we should soon have terminated the war.

It is painful to be minute, when the truth which we are to establish is as clear as a geometrical axiom. Montesquieu is often very laconic, when his truths are deep, and involved. Why may not I be concise, when my leading fact is explicit; when it is almost a *postulatum*?

You, and your superficial observers have talked much of the natural obstructions to conquest, of the many impregnable posts in North America. But General Robertson, who has been acquainted with that country for twenty-four years, thinks that none of its posts are so strong as the heights of Abraham, from which the glorious Wolfe dislodged the French in the last war. You had under your command 40,784 men, before it was difficult to subdue the rebels; before they had grown to that strength which they have now acquired by *your* negligence and inaction. After giving these two facts, which are in themselves a decision, I shall not affront the sensible and impartial reader, by pronouncing on you a just, though severe sentence:---He will immediately see what
has

has been your conduct, what is your character, and what are your deserts. Were mankind, in general, wise and good, arbitrary monarchies would undoubtedly be the best; but the majority of men are weak and wicked; therefore the English government is inestimable. I could have wished, for the sake of public justice, in two signal examples, that when you and Mr. Burgoyne returned from America, our state had, for a while, been blessed with a dictator; that by a sudden and miraculous revolution in nature, and in policy, George the Third had, in mind and power, been a momentary King of Prussia. There are exigencies in this kingdom, as there have been in the best-instituted and best-administered governments, when every ingenuous Englishman must feel pain from the very lenity of our laws; must regret even the excellence of our constitution.

To one of these deplorable exigencies are *we* reduced, when you are suffered to teize a venerable Veteran, and the representatives of the people of England, with the most frivolous and impertinent questions, on a subject which is intimately connected with the fate of the nation. We want to know why you did not come to a complete engagement with Washington; and you ask, if the enemy would not repair, in the spring, an *Abbatis* that had been injured in the winter?—You

E

forget

forget even the military language, of which every Gascon is a master. We want to be informed of your stratagems or exploits, or to hear your reasons why you did not perform both? and you ask whether Washington would have let you gain some advantage QUIETLY? So, in the midst of an active campaign, amidst the din of arms, you expect—Quiet. Why this is confounding the order of things :—Earn the laurel of Minerva, before you claim her olive. Indeed, Sir William, you are as undoubtedly a QUIETIST in war, as the celebrated Fenelon was a QUIETIST in religion.

Permit me to make a few remarks more, and I have done with you for ever. Through the tenor of General Robertson's evidence, in whom we may suppose, temerity has now subsided, I observe, that wherever *you* were supine or motionless, he always declares or implies, that *he* would have pursued active and vigorous measures. I observed yesterday, that he gave a very incomplete answer to a very pertinent question, which was put by Governor Johnstone. The Governor asked him, what he thought were the principal causes of the great defection of the Americans from the government of this country? He replied, that many Americans had abandoned their loyalty, from the misfortune at Saratoga; from the French alliance with the colonies,

colonies, and from other causes, with which he was not well acquainted. He omitted one great cause, undoubtedly the chief cause of the American defection; which I am persuaded he had in his mind, and which he therefore should have communicated—*their contempt of our commander in chief*. I respect General Robertson; but in several instances I do not think he has acquitted himself with proper frankness and spirit at the bar of the House of Commons. From *you* he is intitled to gratitude and veneration, though I believe you detest and despise him; for to *you* he hath been candid to a fault. How often are we mean and criminal dupes to *Candour*, that timid, that discreet, that insignificant deity! She profanely assumes the form of christianity, and confounds truth with falsehood; charity to distress, with impunity to guilt:—Candour to a Howe, is cruelty to the public.

I was yesterday much disgusted with another part of General Robertson's behaviour. He withheld his opinion on a certain point; because he was not master of it, *he feared the displeasure of the House*. This language was too humble, too abject, from a Briton and a soldier, to the delegates of the nation. The senators of every state are entitled to a manly respect; but when a subject of England addresses the English House of Commons, he

ought to remember that he is addressing the representatives, the servants of a people, who should be, for ever, free.

Yet I must humanely ask, with the facetious Mr. Rigby, what this old soldier has done to deserve this present punishment?—If I respected a Committee of the House of Commons as little as I respect Sir William Howe, I might say, that he has been condemned to a senatorial pillory, and that you have pelted him unmercifully with your *rotten* questions. Indulge me with another simile. When I saw *you* putting your interrogatories to the good General, though our capricious arrangements were against my comparison, I thought your *true* relation to him resembled that of a sniveling, idle school-boy, who should presume to catechise his master. Frequently too I observed a sarcastic smile on your face, when you fancied that he was embarrassed or mistaken. Were I to wish that my worst enemy might be universally detested, I should wish that he might enjoy, or affect, ease of mind under infamy. But I do not wonder that you are insensible to the General's merit. Your virtues and his are directed to different objects. Where *he* is enterprizing; *you* are cautious; where *he* is delicate, *you* are confident. He is remarkably moderate at the bar of the
House

House of Commons; *you* are eminent for moderation in the field.

The members of the opposition have not acquired much credit since the present Committee began this inquiry. They have precipitately and obstinately espoused the cause of two men, whose palpable misconduct has been ruinous to their country. When the guilt of these two men grew every day more conspicuous, by the examination of General Robertson, those members were strenuous, to oppose the progress of an inquiry, for which they had been clamorous before. From a new and preposterous partiality to these two delinquents, the trifling notions of General Grey, who had not been a year and a half in America, and whose range in the Continent was very limited, were preferred to the solid testimony of General Robertson, whose acquaintance with the country was very extensive and accurate, and who had resided there 24 years. Charles Fox, who is hackneyed to inconsistency, affected to despise the evidence of the old General, for whose knowledge and integrity he had expressed, a few years ago, the highest regard and veneration.

Col. Barre's examination of the General was not that of the Senator and the Gentleman; it was rude and inquisitorial: it was, indeed, in some respects indecent to the highest

est degree. He was absolutely for compelling our honest, plain veteran to insult government; to rush from the Campus Martius into the Field of Politics; and in an instant to degenerate, like himself, into a tumultuous and rapacious demagogue. But the modest, and manly answers of the General, and his oblique, yet pointed reproofs, shewed not only a better heart, but more good sense, than all the flippant questions, than all the little rhetorical sallies of his examiner. The whole style and manner of this fierce tribune deserve particular, and public animadversion. As true patriotism is the very perfection of human excellence, it includes the amiable, in the great character. The patriot is intrepid, and ardent in his noble cause; but from the very consciousness of his integrity, and of the rectitude of his aim, his intrepidity and ardour are tempered with a mild, but powerful majesty; against which violence and abuse maintain a poor and impotent conflict. His flame, indeed, will always be strong; yet, on the most trying occasions, it will be lambent, and genial; not like yours, Colonel Barré, smouldering, and sulphureous. Like the great poet in Horace, he will be *vehemens*, ardent as I have described him; but, at the same time,

——— *liquidus, puroque simillimus amni,*
Fundet opes Latiumque beabit divite lingua.

(I do

(I do not translate for *you*; you are not a country gentleman.) But he will never bluster, like the *roaring torrent*, to which the *hoarse, rough verse*, is, in Pope, so happily-responsive.

As in your senatorial capacity you shew not a particle of this amiable and great character, I know not why we should expect from *you*, if you were in office, more public spirit than our present ministers possess, whom you so intemperately charge with weakness, and profligacy. Indeed we sometimes find, that capital genius controuls and models rapacity and ambition, after they have gained the summit of their wishes; that it guides them accurately through their public walk, and proves an admirable substitute for moral influence. Cromwell was politically just; and Cæsar was politically humane. But I am so far from ranking Colonel Barre with a Cromwell, or a Cæsar, that I do not think he is endowed with *any* genius. You can brow-beat, and abuse, and tell a silly, impertinent story; but you are not an orator. If your heat and violence are the effects of your natural disposition, they certainly would not prognosticate a very liberal and generous conduct, on your civil promotion. If they are artificial; if you are but the organ of a party, you would
most

most probably abuse power; for emancipated, and fortunate slaves commonly prove selfish tyrants; they retaliate on mankind.

In short, we can hope for as little exertion of true public spirit from Colonel Barré in the Lower, as from the Duke of R——d in the Upper House. I will never be persuaded that a despotic master, that a parsimonious peer, is a friend to the sacred rights of mankind. Industry, indeed, he may have, and inflexibility; a habit and a quality which are possessed by the lowest characters. There is an animal, which merely from its sanguinary nature, will sooner die than quit its hold. Neither the commoner nor the nobleman possess a ray of splendid talents. A few words will exhibit the men. Each of them is magisterial; each is tenacious of his ruling object; — Properties, which characterize the **TURK and the DUTCHMAN.**

AGRICOLA,

POLITICAL



POLITICAL OBSERVATIONS.



POLITICAL OBSERVATIONS.

POLITICAL OBSERVATIONS.

*Duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus,
Nigræ feraci frondis in Algido,
Per damna, per cædes, ab ipso
Ducit opes, animumque ferro.*

Horace, Od. Lib. iv. Od. 4.

THE best writers, who have made it their study to *vindicate the ways of God to man*, have justly observed, that whatever conduces to our *real* well-being, is, in general, attainable by the species; and that the works of elaborate ingenuity, as they can only be executed, and possessed by a few (not to animadvert cynically on their effects) contribute very little, if at all, to the welfare and happiness of mankind. I believe the observation will hold good, whether it be applied to the wants, improvements, and accomplishments, of our corporeal, or mental frame; to individuals, or communities, to savage, or civil life. Thus you will understand, and be, in some degree, interested in the thoughts of a plain, but sensible country gentleman, on any subject that has employed his consideration:—while a Hume, with all

his learning, acuteness, and reflection ; nay, by his very keen and progressive reflection, by proceeding too far in the darker labyrinth of metaphysics, is, at length, totally lost ; gives you words without ideas ; addresses you in a language unintelligible. Thus the amiable and excellent Berkeley, with all his simplicity of heart and manners ; with all his useful and ornamental knowledge ;—however conversant with salutary and sublime truths ;—while he combats materialism, is pushed on, by the excess of a noble philosophy, to the extreme of spiritual refinement ;—and in his pure intellectual vision, all the matter in the universe (though the senses of the clown demonstrate to him the reverse) dissolves into nothing.

The same *curious pleasure, or ingenious pain*, the same philosophical enchantment, hath, in physic, produced many specious and surprising non-entities. Sydenham founded his medical fame on his attention to the progress of actual cases, and to the operation of actual remedies ; on vigilant observation, and long experience. From these sources he drew genuine and efficacious knowledge ;—from that knowledge he was honoured with the title of the English Hippocrates ; and has been the revered guide of later practice.

But

But the doctrine of some succeeding physicians hath been more speculative and problematical than that of Sydenham. They have eagerly pursued the phantoms of the closet; they have winded along the philosophical maze, till it terminated in a false conclusion. A greater number of paradoxes and absurdities hath issued from no quarter than from the medical school. One of our capital physicians, whose practice is as eminently distinguished by his humanity as by his talents, hath asserted and maintained, that no sort of dampness is injurious to the human constitution.

Unfortunately for the weal of the *body* politick, some authors, who have written on legislation and government, and who are justly celebrated for their learning and genius, have blended their own theoretical refinements with striking examples and applications; have lost sight of the true history of states, and of the salutary rules which that history suggested; from a contempt of palpable and useful matter; and from an ambition to produce novelty. Yet this pursuit of the remote and the new; this passion for beautiful chimæras, might sometimes have been indulged without a disingenuous gratification of self-love, without affecting singularity, and anticipating

ing fame. A susceptible and delicate soul, if it is habituated to exertion of mind, will naturally be fond of ingenious discussion and argument; will be enamoured with elegance of sentiment and thought. The great, but unfortunate Secretary of Florence, whose characteristics were, penetration, a complete knowledge of the world, and therefore a severe habit of mind, wrote directly from prominent facts which passed under his eye; or from the authentic records of instructive history. In all his political tracts, you see the man formed to the business of the state; a witness of the tumults and factions of his time. Whatever propositions he advances are founded on the constant operations of the human mind in certain situations. He tells you the indubitable effects of the government of a good, and enlightened Prince; but as he is industrious to unfold all political knowledge, he likewise dictates to lawless ambition the means by which *it* must obtain its ends, and seems the counsellor of usurpers and tyrants, at the hazard of his justice and humanity.

As the illustrious Montesquieu, from a gentler sensibility, was a more tender friend to mankind than the Florentine, perhaps, from the same cause, he was less acquainted with human nature;—retired more within himself; and even in *political* inquiry, gave
too

too much way to that rich and elegant imagination with which his mind was adorned. Hence, in his admirable works, we sometimes meet with a theory which is not warranted by experience :—hence he prefers the unequal and wild Alexander to the collected, to the consistently great, Cæsar ; and to support that preference, he brings a single fact, from the history of each hero, which is not strong enough essentially to discriminate their characters *. Hence, too, by

* Je vais le comparer à Cæsar :—quand Cæsar voulut imiter les Rois d'Asie, Il désespéra les Romains par une chose de pure ostentation : quand Alexandre voulut imiter les Rois d'Asie, Il fit une chose qui entroit dans le plan de sa conquête.

Esprit des Loix.

Liv. X. ch. 14.

I never could account for a passage in Montesquieu's encomium on Alexander : “ Il fit deux mauvaises actions ” (says that great author) *il brula Persépolis, et tua Clitus.*” What ?—Did Alexander commit only two bad actions ? He was guilty of many acts of cruelty. Some of them I shall here produce.—After an unnecessary, and horrible carnage at his taking of Tyre, he deliberately crucified, along the shoar, 2000 of its inhabitants, who had escaped the barbarity of his soldiers fatigued with slaughter. This enormity he perpetrated from a most unprincely and inhuman revenge ; because the Tyrians had gallantly defended their city against his troops, for seven months. The fact is thus related by Quintus Curtius.—“ *Triste deinde spectaculum victoribus ira præbuit Regis ; duo millia, in quibus occidendi defecerat rabies, crucibus affixi, per ingens libris spatium pependunt.*” *Quintus Curtius*, lib. iv.—When Betis, the Governor of Gaza, who had gloriously defended the town against Alexander, was brought, half dead of his wounds, before him, the

by giving to human misconduct, as necessary and determined effects as those which result from physical causes; and by allowing too little to the chance of war, and to that irresistible enthusiasm which is felt by a whole army for

the victorious monarch, instead of giving his valour the praise it deserved, treated him with all the wantonness of insult. That most inhuman behaviour Betis resented with a silent contempt. Alexander's rage was then unbounded: He ordered thongs to be drawn through the ankles of Betis, and dragged him, behind his chariot, round the town, in imitation of Homer's blood-hound, Achilles. He even improved on the cruelty of that hero: For Achilles committed his outrage on the *dead* body of Hector—Alexander perpetrated *his* inhumanity on the person of the *living* Betis.—“Ira deinde vertit in rabiem (says *Quintus Curtius*) jam tum peregrinos ritus novâ subeunte Fortunâ. Per talos enim spirantis lora trajecta sunt; religatumque ad currum circa urbem traxere equi; gloriante rege Achillem, a quo genus ipse deduceret, imitatum se esse pœnâ in hostem capiendâ.” *Curtius*, lib. iv.—I shall give but one more of his savage freaks, for it is painful to review them. His favourite, Hephestion, died of a fever: Among the other extravagancies of his grief, he hung the physician who had attended his friend, and who had undoubtedly used all his art to effect his recovery. I shall here, too, give my reader the authority of *Quintus Curtius*.—“Illis forte diebus, Hephestion, quem rex unice, ac fratris locò diligebat, febricitans moritur. Ex quo Alexander, incredibili affectus dolore, multa quæ regiam majestatem minime decerent, admisisse dicitur. Miserum quippe medicum, tanquam in curando negligentior fuisset, suspendi jussit.”—Lib. x.——A sensible mind must be surprised and concerned, to find the learned, the penetrating, and the amiable Montesquieu, propose to the world, a frantic tyrant as the model of heroism; for certainly, in the instances which I have cited, he deserved not a better title. He had great genius; and he often showed a most magnanimous generosity: but many of his actions were *abominable*, in a *moral*, and *bad*, in a *political* sense.

for a great and victorious commander, he asserts, that the fortune of Charles of Sweden was not ruined by the battle of Pultowa*.

Politics would not be an intricate and formidable study, if there was but simplicity, wisdom, and honesty in mankind. The science of government has been rendered complicated and difficult, by those who have found it their interest to perplex and embroil affairs of state, and by the ingenuity and vanity of authors. An individual is hardly ever brought into so mysterious a situation, that he may not, after a short deliberation, see, by what mode of conduct he will most probably extricate himself from his difficulties; if he has good sense, and a manly heart. In the most critical situation of any state, its counsellors, and the community, may soon find, and apply the properest measures for their security and honour, without the acutest penetration, and without the most profound political knowledge; if they possess but common honesty; if, in short, they

G

are

* Ce ne fut point Pultova qui perdit Charles : s'il n'avoit pas été détruit dans ce lieu, Il l'auroit été dans un autre. Les accidens de la Fortune se reparent aisément : en ne peut pas parer à des Evenemens qui naissent continuellement de la nature des choses.—Esprit des Loix. Liv. x. ch. 13.
—These observations on a continued imprudence are accurate, and almost universally applicable. Charles the XIIth was a most singular man : and *his* history, if he had gained the battle of Pultowa, might have contained a singular exception.

are but acquainted with their own true interest.

I beg that the reader may pardon this diffuse Introduction, by which I meant to bespeak his attention to the following plain observations. I should have thought myself impertinent and ostentatious, if I had been pleading my own cause. He who is industrious to simplify momentous truths, hath certainly not chosen the path of pedantry, or ambition. The substance of my apology for the remarks which I shall offer, are, I flatter myself, of consequence to mankind, and particularly to England, at the present crisis. I shall at least be excused by a liberal mind, for having contributed, with some prolixity, my honest and unassuming endeavour to guard the public against the parade of learning, and the delusions of sophistry, on a subject of the utmost national importance.

I shall now add my observations on our public affairs, and perhaps on some of our public men, without any reserve, because, without any sinister view.

A late event hath corroborated, or rather confirmed, all the charges that I have brought against the conduct of Sir William Howe. We may thank *him* for all that is false, for all that is arrogant, in the Spanish manifesto. Had he given that victory, and splendour

splendour to the British arms which he might have effected, instead of becoming the contempt of the other nations of Europe, we should now have stood in our old relation to them: We should have been the object of their respect and awe. If Sir William Howe had done his duty in America, France would not have entered into an alliance with our revolted colonies; nor would our preparations now have been necessary, to resist the united efforts of the house of Bourbon. After what I have already written, I shall not here superfluously prove his delinquency to the publick; nor that his delinquency is the cause of our present alarming situation. I will not insult the understanding, the intuitive knowledge of every honest man, who honours these papers with a perusal.

Without flattering, or paying any court to a minister (which from my soul I detest) I will maintain, that it is impossible, upon a fair comparison, that the conduct of Lord North can be deemed half so culpable to his country as that of General Howe. To determine on the justice, or injustice, of our war on the American continent, is, at this time, neither my object, nor my inclination. But I must observe, that there were several circumstances in the department of Lord North, which might have misled an upright and sensible minister. At our great distance

from America, and with the various and contradictory accounts which we received from our colonies, it was impossible, with any accuracy, to form an estimate of their dispositions, courage, and strength, at the commencement of the war. Courage, active, and decisive courage, (notwithstanding the manner in which that consummate General, Sir William Howe, wages war) I must ever think the grand requisite in a General and his army. Now it was confidently asserted, by many persons of respectable authority, that the Americans would not fight: They were pronounced cowards in both houses of parliament: The assertion had credit from well informed, and sensible minds; and I doubt not but it was believed by some of the Lords and Commons who now express the greatest resentment against the blunders of administration. If we consider this report, and other accounts which were given us by vouchers of good credit (at the time to which I allude) of the incapacity of our colonies for war, does it appear that our ministry committed so great an error as is laid to their charge, in sending over a small army, to awe the insurgents into quiet and allegiance? At such a crisis, to send out a force exactly adapted to the exigency, demands, perhaps more discernment than is given to man. Public discontents are diffused

fused unequally, and often with great caution ; their animosity and their progress may be little known even to men of sagacity and observation who reside in the country where they spread. As the American disaffection to our government was not very formidable in its rise, it now appears, that at first it might have been checked and suppressed, by a moderate number of troops vigorously employed ; and it is now clear beyond a doubt, that the rebellion might have been quelled by a far less force than that which was lately under the command of Sir William Howe.

From these premises I conclude, that the most enlightened and experienced minister, at the commencement of our American war, might have sent over a small army to the continent, and might thus have committed the error of the Lords North and Germaine. If indeed it was an error ; for all human conduct is estimated, by a thoughtless and unfeeling world, according to its success. After such a minister had been informed by the best authorities he could procure, that the insurgents were few, and that they would soon be intimidated by regular troops, it would occur to him, that a large force, tho' commanded by the most prudent General, would necessarily ravage and distress the country they invaded ;——that such a force, instead of quelling an insurrection, might
excite

excite a general rebellion ; might alarm the colonies with the idea of impending slavery ; and might drive them to arms and to despair. And as our conduct in private and publick life is similar, with a very few exceptions, such a minister would recollect, that a gentle reproof will persuade and conciliate, when a torrent of reproaches would exasperate and alienate for ever.

Lord North is every day upbraided with a shameful inconsistency in his conduct to the Americans. He is reproached for having sent out Commissioners to treat with the Congress, after having publicly declared, that submission from America should precede any future terms that might be offered her from Government. This charge, however frequently and loudly repeated, can only have weight with unreflecting minds. Have not the greatest ministers, in different situations, which it was impossible for human penetration to foresee, adopted very different measures, and held very different language with the same state ? In private life, do not the same men——men of the greatest honour, and sagacity, form very different, nay, reciprocally, very discordant plans ;——do not they treat with all the warmth of regard, *this* year, those whom they treated with coldness the last ; as they find themselves necessitated to act,
from

from the gradual developement of character, and from the inconceivable vicissitude of human affairs? And shall we not allow some flexibility, some seeming incongruity of conduct, to a minister; whose intercourse is with many changeable objects, and with many artful men?—Shall we expect that *He* alone will be exempt from error, who, of all other mortals, moves in a most fluctuating and complicated sphere?

As to Sir William Howe, it was impossible for *him* to mistake his duty in America, unless we could do him the favour to prove him an idiot. His principal objects were to fight, and to conquer. Therefore, Colonel Barré, while in the House of Commons, where we certainly might expect to hear more gravity of style, you assail the minister with the most illiberal, and inhuman abuse, whose province of late might have perplexed both Lord Shelburne and yourself; and while you lavish your hypocritical praise on a man whose misconduct has been more injurious to England, than that of any other subject of the realm, you convince us that the welfare of your country is far from your heart;—that you are only eager to drive the present ministry from their posts, that you may take *their* ground, and share their emoluments, with your needy and ambitious confederates;—and that to obtain
your

your wishes, you are always ready to confound good with evil ; to prostitute, to notorious vice, the honours which are due to conspicuous virtue ; and to incur, as far as is in your power, the commission, by the justification of crimes most ruinous to the publick. Yes, Sir ; you deeply participate that guilt which you defend.

You upbraid the ministry with our want of Generals. We *do* want Generals. You, as a military man, ought to know what various talents and acquirements are requisite to constitute a General ; and you will agree with me, that there is hardly one man in England who completely deserves the title. But is it in the power of any ministry to correct this unfortunate sterility of nature. If you could be sincere for a moment, you would frankly own to me, that if you were his Majesty's first minister, you would neither put Sir William Howe, nor Mr. Burgoyne at the head of an army :—but if you *should* employ them, you would find it as impracticable to make good Generals of *them*, as to *create* Generals.

I shall here observe, that in a public emergency, when the safety of a state depends on generous endeavours to weaken the fermentation of party, and on the coolness and wisdom of its counsellors, and governors ; those of the men that are entrusted
with

with the management of publick affairs, who in a profligate and venal age, have any publick spirit left, or who are really apprehensive for their property;—will, in such an emergency, direct the force of their minds to the support of their country; and consequently little of it will be expended on faction and resentment:—they will be less attentive to men than to things:—they will not be eager to rail at ministers; but earnest to concert and enforce vigorous, and salutary measures. For when we think our ALL is at stake, whatever levity and extravagance we may have indulged before, we become immediately philosophically grave;—we are no longer actuated by those partial views and passions, to which we gave too great a scope in our idle and easy hours;—we calmly and seriously deliberate, how that ALL may be saved. This observation is so evidently true, and its truth is so important, that I think I may, without presumption, class it with political axioms. If by this criterion we try the conduct of a Shelburne, and a Barré, what sage politicians, what exalted patriots will they appear!

Such a literary Insect as *Democrates* may think that I have here given him an advantage over me; he may tell me, that my warmth against Sir William Howe is incompatible with the proposition which I have now ad-

H

vanced.

vanced. To this charge I should answer, that a propriety of conduct of a very different nature is to be expected from those whose are to animate and guide the system of government, and from him who undertakes the laudable office of censuring public delinquents;—from the men in whose minds pure wisdom should preside, and from him, who endeavours to make *those tremble who 'scape the laws*.

I must beg pardon of myself if I once more take notice of Sir William, and his powerful advocate, *Democrates*. These two prudent men have put their heads together, and have published, in the Public Advertiser, two parts of a letter from Lord George Germaine to Sir William Howe, written in the year 1776, on the—[what shall I call it? as it was an insignificant thing, I shall give it an indefinite word] on the *affair* of Long Island.—They undoubtedly thought the publication of some passages of that letter, *a coup de maitre*: They meant to show the world, that Lord George's present opinion of the General, is very different from what it appears to have been when he wrote the letter; and that he is, therefore, most disingenuously inconsistent with himself. They likewise meant to disconcert those who had expressed an impartial esteem of Lord George, but who had given to the publick a very different

ent

ent opinion from his Lordship, on the affair of Long-Island. Now I declare without the least reserve, that I totally differ in judgement from his Lordship, on that object; I never spoke nor wrote of Lord George Germaine, but from the voluntary impulse of my own mind; an assertion, which Democrates, as he is the mechanical hireling of a Howe, will, perhaps, not easily believe. But the letter, Sir William, which you have cited, only proves, that its writer was mistaken. May not I have formed too favourable an opinion of a man; and may not his bad conduct, of two or three years, efface that opinion? Lord George, from an excess of generosity, praised you too highly. And if you could feel decorum, you would never have sent a passage of that letter into light, after your shameful behaviour in America. By quoting some of its passages, you have accurately reminded us of what you are, because you are exactly the reverse of its picture;---you have improved on *common* impudence; you have converted a too liberal panegyrick into a stabbing satire. I may say (with Junius) to Democrates, and Sir William Howe;—"Cease, vipers:—you bite a file."

A great weight of war is now impending over this nation;—a weight which we may repel with vigour, and with the old British

glory, if we are not wanting to ourselves. Every Englishman will hope, and I hope every sensible Englishman may expect, that the baleful fever of party will now be changed into a generous ardour for the common good. I offer my sentiments to the publick, with a proper sense of my own limited situation ; with great deference to the people of England ; and to the superior orders of our community, who have a free access to all the sources of political knowledge. Yet I flatter myself that even *my* sentiments may be read with attention ; and may have *some* salutary influence ; as I have the honour to be a subject of a free and enlightened state. I have such confidence of the intrepidity of our soldiers and sailors, if they are conducted and animated by commanders worthy of their courage, that I scorn to echo the language of despondency, or alarm. If we banish from our councils, personal invective and low ridicule, (which, indeed, are at all times, incompatible with senatorial dignity) and if we adapt our thoughts, our language, and our more operative exertions to the present exigencies ; we shall form spirited and effectual plans of policy ; we shall supply government with the nerves of war ; and we shall chuse intrepid and active Generals and Admirals ;—a choice which late and humiliating experience hath taught us, is of as much consequence to the
inter-

interest and honour of the state, as the choice of able Ministers. And when these great objects are before us, let not the House of Commons be diverted from its nobler deliberations by impertinences; by insults; by such a foreign and despicable thing as Sir William Howe's proposal to bring in evidences which he is to oppose to the testimony of Mr. Galloway:—for a Court of Inquiry cannot give us any satisfaction for *his* misdemeanours; it will only end in a dreadful waste of time, and a long endurance of trifles.

Whatever heavy accusations have been brought against the Ministry, on account of the Spanish Manifesto, it will produce one good effect; it will awake our public spirit, which was almost extinct. The hostilities of the united House of Bourbon, our inveterate and ambitious foes, will inflame the breast of every Englishman with a generous indignation, and with ardour for revenge. It is happy for us if we can be stimulated to greatness of conduct by our passions, when we cannot be determined to its pursuit by purer motives. I expect little, at present, from the habitual virtues of my countrymen; but I expect much from their pride, and resentment, and from their attention to their true interest. We already see the auspicious effects of these powerful impellers. The good fortune of the Militia bill,
and

and the resolution of the East India Company, prove the truth of my assertion. The vehemence of opposition is already mollified, and subsides into a cheerful complacency with those measures which will evidently promote the publick weal. The temperate language of the Duke of Richmond, in the House of Lords, immediately after the publication of the Spanish rescript, and the check which he endeavoured to give to the wild, and unideal rage of Lord Abingdon, did him honour. I hope HIS liberal behaviour on the occasion I have mentioned, was an omen, that all the ardour which is henceforth to actuate that noble assembly, will be inspired by the tutelary genius of Britain;—will be worthy of the guardians of a great empire.

The tumult of the Lower House is either abated, or takes a better direction. Charles Fox (whose originality and fervour of genius no man admires more than myself) though he still fulminates against the Minister, points his energy, and with parliamentary success, against France and Spain. If Colonel Barré perseveres in his illiberal, and barbarous attack on Lord North, in his puerile similes, and low wit, he confirms my opinion of him; shows himself a mere pantomime of party; and that he is only strenuous to bring himself, and his associates into office.

The

The resolution of the East India Company to raise 6000 men, and to fit out three seventy-four gun ships, for the service of the publick, should be praised by eloquence more powerful than mine. It is a true lineament of the English character. It shows that the British Lion can yet be roused; and that though he is old, he is yet strong; notwithstanding all the complaints which have lately been urged, of his weakness. It is a noble contribution to national strength; it is a noble example; it is a most happy omen of our success in war. If the spirit which dictated that resolution, pervades the kingdom with proportionable effects, what have we to fear from France and Spain? How must our enemies tremble, if they reflect what great things one of our commercial societies can do for the service of their country?

Mr. Fox is undoubtedly so well acquainted with the relative state of this kingdom, and the rest of Europe, that he must have known there was no real necessity for the speech of alarm, and terror, with which, on the 21st of this month, he fixed the attention of the House of Commons. And I am sure he is conversant with the History of England; therefore he must likewise have known that his superficial comparison of the very
 alarming

alarming crisis, when the Spanish Armada failed to invade our island, with the present time, was an unjust comparison; and that it answered his purpose by its superficiality alone. England was then in the infancy of its maritime glory; the naval expeditions of the Spaniards and Portuguese had, in those days, been attended with more important consequences than ours. Since that time, the augmentation of a naval force has been far more an object with us than with France; infinitely more than with Spain. With our attention to this augmentation, many improvements in the art of navigation, and many advantages natural to Britain, have equally and happily conspired. Such, at length, was the power of the British navy, that we gained, and have long asserted, the empire of the sea. Therefore I doubt not, but in *this* war, we shall have a fleet almost, if not completely equal to the united fleets of France and Spain. But, Mr. Fox, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the force of Spain alone, the Armada of Spain alone, was prodigiously superior to all the force of this kingdom. The Armada, Sir, consisted of 130 larger ships than ever had been seen in Europe. There were 20,000 land-forces on board of this Armada. Thirty thousand troops were stationed in the Netherlands, and were to have been landed in England.

What

What force had Britain to oppose to this formidable armament? Thirty small ships. We had not at that time a body of land-forces that deserved the name of a militia, or an army. The forces which the East India Company have resolved to raise for his Majesty's service, if properly estimated, will be found to amount almost to the whole military force of the kingdom in the days of Elizabeth. I do not think we are in danger, now, from the attacks of our enemies; —but we were in very great danger then; we were absolutely in danger of ruin. It is true, the Princess behaved magnanimously on that most alarming occasion; it is likewise true, that the nation had the greatest confidence in her and her ministers. But magnanimity, and national confidence, and the courage of a few troops, may be overwhelmed by an infinite superiority of numbers; and we all know, that some great events, which almost indicated an interposition of Providence, saved us, at that crisis, from destruction. By the death of the Marquis of Santa Croce, and of Paliano, two brave and able Admirals, the command of the Armada devolved to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, an officer without experience, and without abilities. After some vain efforts of that immense armament, a violent storm was decisive in our favour; it dispersed and
I destroyed,

destroyed the magnificent fleet. Therefore, the *afflavit Deus, et dissipantur*, was the cause of our preservation ;—and the *Non nobis, Domine*, was the proper anthem of our gratitude.—Take care, ye sons of freedom, how you praise Elizabeth. — Elizabeth was a tyrant.

But after as just a comparison as I can make of human force, I am fully satisfied, that twenty of our seventy four gun ships, commanded by such an Admiral as Hawke, would beat thirty French ships of war of the same rate ; and I am likewise fully satisfied, that thirty English sail of the line, led to battle by such a commander as the great man whom I have mentioned, would defeat sixty Spanish sail of the line of * equal force. Perhaps I may seem romantick in my confidence of the naval prowess of England ; but I believe that confidence is warranted by many examples in the annals of this country. If I should even be in an error, I am holding a language more worthy of an Englishman than that of terror, and dismay.

Instead, then of spreading a panick, let our orators, and writers circulate a manly reliance on our national resources. There is hardly

* The reader will be pleased to observe, that by the word equal, I mean equal in material and ostensible Force. If we take the courage and skill of our seamen into the account, we shall be greatly their superiors.

hardly any thing impossible to the greatest commercial country in the world.—Let us look back to the effects of publick spirit among the Dutch, a small state comparatively with ours : Let us emulate, at this time, the glorious patriotism which they exhibited to Europe, a century ago. Indeed, the very existence of their commonwealth was then at stake ; and they preserved it almost miraculously. They submitted cheerfully to uncommon taxes for the publick service : They felt not their weight ; but they were a frugal people. The inhabitants of England might raise land and sea-forces, which would defeat the combination of *any* hostile powers, if they would but reserve, for that generous purpose, the sums that they squander on the superfluity, on the mad intemperance of dissipation ;—if they would reduce frenzy to pleasure.—By the private œconomy of the Dutch, and their publick liberality ; and by the union, for the defence of their community, of two parties, by which their state had long been torne ; they had, in the year 1666, (as we are told by Sir William Temple) “ above threescore thousand land men in pay ; and a fleet of above an hundred men of war at sea*.” They re-

* See Sir William Temple's Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands.

scued the Republick from the ambition of France; and from the perfidy (I will not say, of England) but of the English cabinet.

Let me console myself for proposing Holland as a model to my countrymen, by referring them to the great Romans. Let me prevail with those to whom the safety of Britain is entrusted, to exalt their minds above personal resentment, and obloquy, and to be intent only on the protection of the state, by reminding them of a memorable fact in the history of that illustrious Republick; a fact which displays that elevation; that majesty of soul, which was almost peculiar to ancient Rome.—After Annibal had grown very formidable to the Romans, by his conduct, and valour; after he had gained the victories of Trebia, and Thrasimene; Terentius Varro brought his country into as eminent danger as any to which a state could possibly be exposed, by rashly engaging the Carthaginian General; by the loss of the battle of Cannæ, which was almost fatal to the Roman name. But how did the Romans treat Varro, on the dreadful catastrophe?----Did they put him to death?---Did they rail at him unmercifully?---Did they express any indignation against that imprudent, but brave man?---No---They would have been so far from reproaching him, if he had *smiled* at an event less alarming to the publick, that he
was

was thanked by the senate, and the people,
**FOR NOT HAVING DESPAIRED OF
 THE COMMONWEALTH.**

Let us, at this juncture, emulate the gravity and dignity of an illustrious people, whom we so much admire ; and let us not be Readers, and Scholars, and Orators, in vain. Let not the obstinacy and virulence of party degrade, and debase our councils ;—let us unite in the common cause ; in maintaining the safety, and in vindicating the honour of our country. Let all our strength and fire be exerted against our arrogant and aspiring foes. If thus we resolve, and if thus we act, I may apply, in this reign, two verses of our immortal Shakespeare, to Britain, as justly, as they were applied by him, in the days of Elizabeth :

The Hotspur, and the Douglas, joined together,
 Are CONFIDENT against THE WORLD IN ARMS.

Shakespeare, like every great poet, was a master of human nature ; and he was well acquainted with the History of Europe. The lines which I have quoted are **POETICALLY ANIMATED** : and I hope it will be ever found, that they are **POLITICALLY TRUE.**

F I N I S.

THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE
LAND OFFICE
IN THE CITY OF LONDON
DO HEREBY CERTIFY
THAT THE FOLLOWING
IS A TRUE AND CORRECT
COPY OF THE
ORIGINAL
AS THE SAME
REMAINS IN THE
OFFICE OF THE
COMMISSIONERS
OF THE LAND OFFICE
IN THE CITY OF LONDON
THIS 10th DAY OF
MAY 1861



IN WITNESS WHEREOF
THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE LAND OFFICE
HAVE CAUSED THIS CERTIFICATE
TO BE SIGNED BY THEIR
DEPUTY COMMISSIONER
AND SEALED WITH THEIR
SEAL
THIS 10th DAY OF
MAY 1861
BY ANTHONY
DEPUTY COMMISSIONER

1 M 1 3

